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poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes. The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*uakotane*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongolongo mai kotua ki ia va-nanga ko avatu ki to tuua fafa. Ka wo loa tuua ki te motu. Ko tuua nuua ka nuuai: E tahiyoga te niu pepaku, e taki-yepulupulu te niu. Yua na nuua a te tinito ka nuuai: E takimatuwelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tuuallili. Ka wo tuua ki te motu nei, e ya te kuvea, e ya te ngongo, e ya te kaloa, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te kupe, e ya te kuipua, e ya te unga, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wai nuua ia e wakayusia i to tuua motu. Ka nooo tiuua i ai e wiku go, wonuuai loa tuua. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 50 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangie* wood will be tapu. These are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip. Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as follows:

At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to set birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

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years, but genealogies give name of his three wives as related to Tuiavanga unless by adoption. A just and merciful man in his old age, he ruled the island wisely and well. When he thought death was near, he called the people together and told them it was time to choose a successor to the title of supreme chief. Casting about for a suitable candidate, the people chose Ihilua, son of Lawakoli and his wife, Wolia. Lawakoli was an adopted member of Tua lineage, killed with the chief Alatainga. Tuiva took the youth Ihilua under his care, taught him the principles of wise rule, pointed out the wrongs of the former chief, and told him that to rule justly and peacefully he must be kind and considerate to the people and never sanction murder, no matter what the provocation. Ihilua listened well to the advice of the old man and was finally inducted into office to become the thirteenth chief. Ihilua's son by his first wife, Kaitui, was Kaiti who became fourteenth chief.

In the generation of the fifteenth chief, a curious situation arose in which there were four supreme chiefs at the same time. This apparently resulted from a struggle for the title, in which trouble was finally avoided by a compromise.

[622]

Te Tio, a fifth generation descendant from the eleventh chief, Tuiavanga, was married to the granddaughter of Tuiva. He had been adopted by Kaitui, Ihilua's first wife. To favor this wife, for whom he had great regard, Ihilua nominated her adopted son, Te Tio, to be chief when Kaiti, his blood son, died. Kaiti died and Te Tio became chief. But Pepeu, blood son of Ihilua and Ulapo, his second wife, also claimed the title of supreme chief, and to avoid trouble he too was formally inducted as chief of Loto. Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, to succeed him and had him inducted as chief during his lifetime in order to make sure of the succession. As Kaiti's wife, Yokawu, was descended from Manihiki castaways, Kaiti's son, Malowutia (Pilato Metua) also had traces of Manihiki blood in him. When Pepeu nominated his son, Vailuku, as chief, the Yato man Tapi (another descendant from the Manihikians), who then was the executive officer (*yule*), was ambitious for his lineage and insisted that before he would agree to the appointment of Vailuku, Pepeu in turn must agree to the appointment of Malowutia, son of Kaiti, as another chief of Loto.

Pepeu was forced to agree to the demands of Tapi, and thus there arose the anomalous situation in which there were four supreme chiefs, all duly inducted on the sacred enclosure of Manaliki and all holding office at the same time. Te Tio and Pepeu were of one generation; Vailuku and Malowutia were of the generation level below. The arrangement seems to have been an amicable one and without trouble or rivalry of any sort.

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When the four men died, Pakitonga, son of Te Tio, became sixteenth chief. On his death the succession passed back to the first son of Malowutia, and Pilato became seventeenth chief. He was captured by Peruvian raiders on their visit to Pukapuka in 1862-1863, transported to Peru, but finally escaped and returned to Pukapuka to die in 1933. He was succeeded informally by his brother, the present chief, Nawaui, a man now about 100 years old. Nawaui insisted that he should not be formally made chief, for he was old and likely to die soon; but his nomination was approved by the island administration. He is married; his wife has children but he has none. No one knows who is likely to succeed to the title when he dies. There are at least four contending groups: the descendants of Nawaui's sister, descendants of Pakitonga, and descendants of Pakitonga's two elder sisters. Other lineages in Ngake are also interested in the succession, claiming a right

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643 the chiefs executive (*urolo*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should
645 not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te vananga*) to the
several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o*
646 *te ariki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high
631 chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala*
623 *no te ariki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is
probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to
discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve
boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of
the civil war (p. 389).

[622 The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The
613] chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time
to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of
the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village
works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members.
Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs
were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any
rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and
island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the
modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for him-
self many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert
to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay
with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were
considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

681 Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular,
776 but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the
[577] gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was
punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

671 Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of
685 the chief Tuliangiga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punish-
682 ment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae*
(death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the
reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by
group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in
acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal
sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment
or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide
shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the
beating (1).

627 If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to
671 be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punish-
ment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threat-
ened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a
friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but
always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might